

FILE DESCRIPTION

BUREAU FILE

SUBJECT Weatherman

FILE NO. 100-137018

SECTION NO. 26

SERIALS 2089

thru

2118

1 - Mr. [redacted] b7c
1 - Mr. [redacted]

August 11, 1967

Mr. J. Walter Yeagley
Assistant Attorney General

Director, FBI

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY - Seditious
SEDITION

Reference is made to your letter dated July 17, 1967, which requested appropriate investigation to determine the names of individuals responsible for the writing, printing and dissemination of a document entitled "Antidraft Resolution" which was adopted by captioned organization at a National Council meeting held at Berkeley, California, in December, 1966.

Copies of the above-referenced letter have been furnished to the Director of the Selective Service System and to the military intelligence agencies together with a request that the names of any individuals who refuse to be inducted or to perform military duty because of activity outlined in the referenced letter be furnished to this Bureau for transmittal to the Department of Justice.

There is enclosed a copy of a letterhead memorandum dated August 3, 1967, at San Francisco, California, captioned "Students for a Democratic Society" which contains the results of the investigation conducted by the San Francisco office of this Bureau pursuant to your request. It should be noted that this letterhead memorandum makes reference to several prior communications regarding the antidraft program of this organization, all of which have been previously furnished to you.

Additional investigation is being conducted by other field divisions of this Bureau and you will be promptly advised of the results of this investigation.

Enclosure

- 1 - Chicago
- 1 - San Francisco

CWT:jav

(7)

Class _____
Date _____
Index _____
File _____
Searched _____
Serialized _____
Filed _____
FBI _____
Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

57 AUG 18 1967

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

REC-69

100-439048-208

AUG 14 1967

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

wcl/bz Ant

Mr. J. Walter Yeagley

NOTE:

The Department furnished to the Bureau a copy of an antidraft resolution adopted by the National Council of the Students for a Democratic Society and requested that we identify the individuals responsible for the preparation of the resolution and make arrangements for the Defense Department and Selective Service to furnish the names of any individuals who refuse to be inducted or to perform military duty because of this resolution. The field has been instructed to conduct appropriate investigation and we are advising the Department that their requests have been carried out.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

AUG 12 1967

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

FBI WASH DC

FBI CHICAGO

420PM DEFERRED 8/12/67 JLS

TO DIRECTOR (100-439048)

FROM CHICAGO (100-40903) 1P

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS). IS - C.

RE CHICAGO TEL TODAY.

PROTEST DEMONSTRATION SCHEDULED BY SDS AT GREEK TOURIST CENTER,
TWO NINE SOUTH LASALLE STREET, CHICAGO, FAILED TO MATERIALIZE.

MILITARY, SECRET SERVICE, USA ADVISED. LHM FOLLOWS.

END AND HOLD

FBI WASH DC

REC-57 100-439048-2090

EX-113

3 AUG 16 1967

62 AUG 23 1967

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

AUG 12 1967

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Bishop	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

FBI WASH DC

FBI CHICAGO

1128AM URGENT 8/12/67 JLS
TO DIRECTOR (100-439048)
FROM CHICAGO (100-40903) 1P

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS). IS - C.

1
b7D
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] THAT INFORMATION RECEIVED THAT SDS WILL HOLD
PROTEST DEMONSTRATION AT GREEK TOURIST CENTER, TWO NINE SOUTH
LA SALLE, CHICAGO, TODAY AT ELEVEN THIRTY AM. PROTEST BEING
AGAINST THE CIVIL WAR IN GREECE. NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS NOT
KNOWN. PD ANTICIPATES NO PROBLEMS.

USA, SECRET SERVICE, MILITARY ADVISED. CHICAGO FOLLOWING.

LHM FOLLOWS.

END

GJM

FBI WASH DC

REC-9 100-439048-2092

EX-108

AUG 16 1967

59 AUG 22 1967

FBI

Date: 8/16/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

Via _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439048)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (100-40903)

SUBJECT: COMINFIL STUDENTS FOR
A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
(SDS)
IS-C

Re Chicago teletypes to Bureau dated 8/12/67

In referenced Chicago teletypes dated 8/12/67 it was stated that

that the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) would sponsor a protest demonstration at the Greek Tourist Center, 29 South La Salle, Chicago, Illinois, to protest the civil war in Greece. However, during the late afternoon of August 12, 1967, that the aforementioned SDS demonstration failed to materialize.

The following agencies were advised of the above information:

AUSA NICHOLAS M. KARZEN
United States Attorney's Office
Chicago, Illinois

113th INTC GROUP
Evanston, Illinois

United States Secret Service
Chicago, Illinois

③ Bureau (RM)
1 - Chicago
ELS/lc
(4)

CC 932

REC 30

100-439048-2093

11 AUG 18 1967

Approved: *[Signature]*
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M

Per *[Signature]*

59 AUG 23 1967

CG 100-40903

Inasmuch as the above SDS demonstration was not held as planned, no LHM is being submitted and no further action is being taken with respect to this matter.

8/14/67

To:

☒ Director

RUC 97-439048

FILE CC 102-40903

Attn: SELECTIVE SERVICE DESK

UNIT, SPECIAL

Title

COMINFIL, STUDENTS

☐ SAC INVESTIGATIVE DIVISION

FOR A DEMOCRATIC
SOCIETY (SDS)

☐ ASAC

☒ Supv.

GENERAL

☐ Agent

☐ SE

☐ IC

☐ CC

RE:

☐ Steno

☐ Clerk

☐ Rotor #:

ACTION DESIRED

☐ Acknowledge

☐ Assign Reassign

☐ Bring file

☐ Call me

☐ Correct

☐ Deadline

☐ Deadline passed

☐ Delinquent

☐ Discontinue

☐ Expedite

☐ File

☐ For information

☐ Handle

☐ Initial & return

☐ Leads need attention

☐ Return with explanation or notation as to action taken.

☐ Open Case

☐ Prepare lead card

☐ Prepare tickler

☐ Recharge serials

☐ Return assignment card

☐ Return file

☐ Return serials

☐ Search and return

☐ See me

☐ Send Serials

to

☐ Submit new charge out

☐ Submit report by

☐ Type

AUG 20 1967

Attached are two photostat copies of 13 articles appearing in "New Left Notes" which deal with SDS anti-draft programs and/or policy. These photostat copies do not have to be retained for evidentiary purposes.

Encls. 26

REGISTERED

47 SAC
ENCLOSURE

H. U. JOHNSON

CHICAGO

See reverse side 3

Office

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439048)

DATE: 8/14/67

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-40903)

SUBJECT: CONINFIL
STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)
IS - C

Re Bulet, dated 7/24/67 and Chicago letter dated 7/26/67.

In re Bulet, the Chicago Office was instructed to furnish photostat copies of articles appearing in issues of the "New Left Notes", subsequent to the date of 4/17/67, which dealt with anti-draft programs and/or policy of the SDS.

In this connection, a review of pertinent issues of "NLN" was made and articles which in varying degrees were concerned with SDS anti-draft programs and/or policy, were selected and are being forwarded to the Bureau as enclosures to this communication. Routing slips have been attached to the selected articles, designating two photostat copies of each article to the attention of the Selective Service Desk Unit, Special Investigative Division, and one photostat copy of each article to the attention of the Internal Security Section, Room 932, 9th and D. These photostat copies do not have to be retained for evidentiary purposes.

The Bureau is requested to note that during this review for pertinent articles desired, it was extremely difficult to distinguish programs from policy in view of the way the articles were written. In so many instances, each article selected could be considered either as a program of the SDS or to some degree, its policy.

In view of the above and in order for the Bureau to have the clearest possible picture of the information desired photostat copies of each article selected are being furnished to each of the designated addresses.

2 - Bureau (Encls. 39) (RM)
1 - Chicago

EL3:lmv

(3)

#3

cc 932D

100-439048-2095
VHC 11 15 52 6H EX 104

CON INFIL DIA
REC.D

REC 82

AUG 22 1967

59 AUG 29 1967 Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

4-528

106-439048-6-76X
CHANGED TO

106-439048-6-76X

NOV 21 1967

C

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. Bishop

DATE: August 8, 1967

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY -
BUFILE 100-439048

DeLoach
Mohr
Bishop
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

This spring, the Crime Research Section prepared two extensive research papers on current developments in the so-called New Left movement. In June, 1967, it was recommended and approved that copies of these two research papers be sent to our field offices for the information and guidance of investigative personnel.

One of the research papers was reproduced and furnished to all field offices on July 10, 1967. At the suggestion of the Domestic Intelligence Division, however, dissemination of the second research paper--one dealing exclusively with Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)--was temporarily held in abeyance. This was done in order that data concerning the 1967 National Convention of SDS, which was held at Ann Arbor, Michigan, in June-July, could be included.

Attached is a revised, updated version of the research paper regarding SDS which was approved for dissemination to the field. This includes information regarding the 1967 SDS National Convention and the newly elected national officers of the organization. This write-up is based on material of a strictly public source nature.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

(1) In line with the suggestion which was submitted and approved in June, 1967, it is recommended that the attached 32-page research paper regarding SDS be reproduced and furnished to the field.

(2) That the attached research paper be used in briefing a few of our good friends in Congress and in the newspaper field on an "off-the-record" basis concerning this outfit.

Enclosure ENCLOSURE

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach - enclosure
- 1 - Mr. Bishop - enclosure
- 1 - Mr. Casper - enclosure
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan - enclosure
- 1 - C. D. Brennan - enclosure

COPIES DESTROYED

SEP 20 1972

57 GWG:par/ase (7)

AUG 23 1967

CHIEF OF BUREAU

OK

T3B

copy to Sen. Al 8/18/67

TEB

August 10, 1967

**STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
FRONT-RUNNER OF THE "NEW LEFT"**

From June 25 through July 2, 1967, a group of young men and women--at times numbering more than 400--gathered at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor to berate life in the United States and endorse programs of defiance and contempt toward rightful authority.

These young Americans were participants in the 1967 National Convention of Students for a Democratic Society, where--

Our Government was condemned for attempting "to intimidate soldiers and thereby continue its imperialist war against Viet Nam and the American people";

Aid was urged "to servicemen who wish to terminate their association with the Armed Forces by going underground";

"The American press and local and national officials" were bluntly accused of whipping up "racist reactions" in response to "black people defending their communities against police attacks";

COPIES DESTROYED

4 5 SEP 20 1972

ENCLOSURE 2045-2077

The Selective Service System was described as a device "used by the United States Government to oppress people" and as providing "a manpower pool for an aggressive and imperialistic foreign policy"; and

A propaganda film from North Vietnam was attentively and appreciatively viewed.

At this National Convention, the delegates also agreed that Students for a Democratic Society should accept invitations from communist Cuba and Russia--by sending an observer to the 1967 Tri-Continental Conference at Havana and to the celebration in Moscow honoring the 50th Anniversary of the Soviet Union.

FORMER AFFILIATE OF LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

Students for a Democratic Society (commonly referred to as SDS) is the largest and best-known organization of the self-proclaimed "New Left." SDS was, until the two organizations amicably parted in 1965, a youth affiliate of the League for Industrial Democracy. (The League is successor to the Inter-Collegiate Socialist Society--a group organized in 1905. The stated purpose of the Inter-Collegiate Socialist Society was to mobilize college professors, students and graduates to teach socialism and collective ownership to college students, teachers, professional men, and communities at large throughout the country.)

"PORT HURON STATEMENT" OF 1962

The militant, defiant SDS organization which exists today actually was founded at a convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. A "select" group of students who described themselves as "liberals and radicals" attended this founding convention. It was here that the group's "Port Huron Statement" (a "bible" in the reconstituted SDS movement) was drafted.

The "Port Huron Statement" is a lengthy document (it fills 60 pages of a booklet) which covers a variety of subjects including peace, poverty and civil rights. The following are brief excerpts from this document:

"As a social system we seek the establishment of a democracy of individual participation, governed by two central aims: that the individual share in those social decisions determining the quality and direction of his life; that society be organized to encourage independence in men and provide the media for their common participation."

* * * * *

"The American political system is not the democratic model of which its glorifiers speak. In actuality it frustrates democracy by confusing the individual citizen, paralyzing policy discussion, and consolidating the irresponsible power of military and business interests."

*** * * * ***

"We are subject to a remote control economy, which excludes the mass of individual 'units'--the people--from basic decisions affecting the nature and organization of work, rewards, and opportunities."

*** * * * ***

"Today the world alternatively drifts and plunges towards a terrible war--when vision and change are required, our government pursues a policy of macabre dead-end dimensions--conditioned, but not justified, by actions of the Soviet bloc. Ironically, the war which seems so close will not be fought between the United States and Russia, not externally between two national entities, but

as an international civil war throughout the
unrespected and unprotected civitas which spans
the world."

"While weapons have accelerated man's
opportunity for self-destruction, the counter-
impulse to life and creation is superbly manifest in
the revolutionary feelings of many Asian, African and
Latin American peoples. Against the individual initiative
and aspiration, and social sense of organicism characteris-
tic of these upsurges, the American apathy and stalemate
stand in embarrassing contrast."

* * * * *

"Our pugnacious anti-communism and
protection of interests has led us to an alliance
inappropriately called the 'Free World'.... An
unreasoning anti-communism has become a
major social problem for those who want to con-
struct a more democratic America."

* * * * *

"As democrats we are in basic opposition to
the communist system. The Soviet Union, as a sys-
tem, rests on the total suppression of organized

opposition.... The Communist Party has equated falsely the 'triumph of true socialism' with centralized bureaucracy.... Communist parties throughout the rest of the world are generally undemocratic in internal structure and mode of action."

* * * * *

"Our paranoia about the Soviet Union has made us incapable of achieving agreements absolutely necessary for disarmament and the preservation of peace."

* * * * *

"Our America is still white.... White, like might, makes right in America today."

* * * * *

"America should concentrate on its genuine social priorities: abolish squalor, terminate neglect, and establish an environment for people to live in with dignity and creativeness.

"A program against poverty must be just as sweeping as the nature of poverty itself."

(Thomas Emmett Hayden, who was born in Detroit in December, 1939, is credited by SDS with being the chief architect of its "Port Huron Statement." Hayden has been residing in Newark, New Jersey, and has been a leading figure in the Newark Community Union Project. He became the focal point of not only national, but international, attention in December, 1965, and January, 1966, when he joined Communist Party theoretician Herbert Aptheker and Yale faculty member Staughton Lynd on a trip to North Vietnam. Their trip constituted a blatant defiance of such laws as those proscribing travel to countries designated by the Secretary of State, which countries include North Vietnam, and prohibiting misuse of a United States passport. Aptheker is the father of Bettina Aptheker, a self-admitted communist who has been an active participant in SDS affairs. Lynd has been outspoken in opposing United States policy toward Vietnam and has participated in demonstrations from Washington, D. C., to Berkeley, California.)

"PARTICIPATORY DEMOCRACY"

The program of SDS since its 1962 convention at Port Huron, Michigan, has been one characterized by opposition. SDS opposes Selective Service, opposes United States participation in the war in Vietnam, opposes academic and administrative practices of our colleges and universities.

Members of SDS speak of "participatory democracy" as an ideal form of society. Actually, "participatory democracy" is a system bordering on anarchy--one which strongly distrusts "the establishment," "authority," "the system."

This "anti-establishment" attitude on the part of SDS is strongly reflected in its weekly publication, "New Left Notes." In its February 20, 1967, issue, "New Left Notes" published a special box containing the following observation:

"Sure, you think what you wish. But you wish to think what the controllers wish you to think."

The December-9, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes" published a similar thought from Henrik Ibsen's "An Enemy of the People":

"The most dangerous enemy of truth and freedom amongst us is that compact majority--yes, the damned, compact Liberal majority--that is it! Now you know!"

The cornerstone of "participatory democracy" SDS-style is found in the following sentence which appears in the Preamble to the Constitution of SDS:

"It (SDS) maintains a vision of a democratic society, where at all levels the people have control of the decisions which affect them and the resources on which they are dependent."

The fact that an individual might have neither the education nor the experience--neither the necessary information nor the ability--to effectively participate in, or to "control," critically important policy decisions matters little to SDS.

That chaos and individual anarchy would prevail if a system of "participatory democracy" were ever attempted in so large and complex a society as the United States is obvious. Yet, to the members of SDS, "participatory democracy" represents a Utopia to be practiced and promoted in SDS affairs.

NATIONAL CONVENTION IN 1965

For example, at the National Convention of SDS which was held at Camp Maplehurst, Kewadin, Michigan, in June, 1965, the theme of "participatory democracy" prevailed from the opening moment until the closing day. All facilities at the convention site--including

cabins and bathrooms--were coed, being shared by the more than 250 participants without regard to sex, color or creed. The camp facilities were described as being filthy--but so were many of the delegates, a number of whom went barefoot, unshaven and unkempt.

One of the participants in this National Convention, a faculty member from Wayne State University in Detroit, advocated that "chain-ins and sit-ins" be staged "at major thoroughfares" in the interest of promoting "peace." Another proposed an "emergency crisis program" to completely tie up traffic in Washington, D. C. His plan included such measures as stalling cars on expressways and staging "lie-ins" in front of police and fire stations.

The director of this convention, C. Clark Kissinger-- a mathematician and graduate of the University of Chicago who then, at age 24, was National Secretary of SDS--offered a proposal so radical that it was dubbed "Kissinger's Kamikaze." In order to force a "political trial" which would make the Government defend its "immoral acts in Vietnam," Kissinger advocated that SDS members deliberately violate the Espionage Act of 1917, as well as certain parts of the Military Code of Justice and certain provisions of the Smith Act of 1940.

He specifically suggested that members enter American military bases and distribute leaflets to demoralize servicemen and urge servicemen to desert or adopt other means of avoiding participation in the Vietnam conflict.

NATIONAL OFFICE IN CHICAGO

Since July, 1966, the national headquarters of SDS has been located in Room 206 at 1606 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois. The headquarters was moved to Chicago from New York City in the Spring of 1965.

Principal national officers, elected at the 1967 National Convention in Ann Arbor, Michigan, are Carl George Davidson, Robert Milton Pardun and Michael Spiegel.

Davidson, who holds the newly established position of Interorganizational Secretary, was Vice President of SDS in 1966-1967. (The offices of President and Vice President were abolished in 1967.) Born in July, 1943, Davidson graduated from Penn State University in 1964 and subsequently became a philosophy instructor at the University of Nebraska. He organized and served as President of the SDS chapter at the University of Nebraska before being elected Vice President of the national SDS

organization at the National Convention which was held in Clear Lake, Iowa, in the Summer of 1960.

Pardun was elected Internal Education Secretary.

He became active in SDS at Austin, Texas, as a student at the University of Texas and has traveled extensively on behalf of SDS in recent years.

Spiegel was chosen to serve as National Secretary. A Harvard University student, he has been a very active member of the Harvard-Radcliffe chapter of SDS.

SUBVERSIVE BEDFELLOWS OF SDS

Since 1962, the Communist Party, USA, and other subversive organizations have indulged in extensive courtships of SDS-- and SDS has not been reluctant to accept the attentions showered upon it by these suitors. FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover called attention to this fact in a message published in the October, 1966, issue of the "FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin" in which he described SDS as "a militant youth group which receives support from the Communist Party and which in turn supports communist objectives and tactics." Mr. Hoover stated that Gus Hall, General Secretary of the Communist Party, has characterized SDS as a group which the Party has "going for us."

(On October 7, 1966 --approximately one week after the October, 1966, issue of the "FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin" was published--"New Left Notes," official SDS newspaper, printed an article stating:

"Well, for once, J. Edgar Hoover is right.

There are some Communists in SDS. Every regular reader of 'New Left Notes' must be fully aware of that fact, and he must also know that some of those Communists have openly admitted their membership in both organizations.... SDS is an open organization which welcomes all who seek for solutions to the problems of our day.")

In an Associated Press news story datelined at Chicago, Illinois, on October 17, 1965, the then Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach also was quoted as having disclosed that the Department of Justice had found "some Communists and some persons very closely associated with Communists" working for SDS.

Communists and members of other subversive organizations have been prominent among the participants in meetings and other functions of SDS. For example, two members of the National Committee of the Communist Party, USA, took part in the National Convention which SDS held last summer at Clear Lake, Iowa. These two

Party officials, Bettina Apteker and Carl Bloice, participated in a panel which discussed "working with communists." A third participant in this panel represented the pro-Peking Progressive Labor Party.

On April 17, 1965, when the much-publicized "March on Washington" to protest United States action in Vietnam took place, scores of current and former Communist Party members joined in this SDS-organized and -controlled demonstration. Furthermore, deliberately or otherwise, SDS members have assisted Marxists to build a bridge between themselves and American youth in other ways. For example, SDS sponsored the appearance of Edward Lamansky at the University of Washington in January, 1966. Commenting on Lamansky's appearance there, the University's student newspaper, stated:

"...(Lamansky) emphasized that while he is a communist, he works for the PLP (Progressive Labor Party), not the Communist Party.... Lamansky is from New York. He was the leader of the student group which went to Cuba in the summer of 1964."

The student newspaper also quoted Lamansky as stating in an interview, "I am a communist. On Thursday, I'm going to tell why I think everybody should be communists and why I think the United States should have a communist revolution."

With regard to the \$2 wedding between SDS and the Marxists, it is interesting to note that a most significant change was made in the Preamble to the SDS Constitution at SDS' 1965 National Convention. Prior to the 1965 National Convention, the Preamble to the SDS Constitution (which was originally adopted in June, 1962) had stated, "Students for a Democratic Society is an association of young people on the left. It seeks to create a sustained community of educational and political concern; one bringing together liberals and radicals, activists and scholars, students and faculty.... It feels the urgency to put forth a radical, democratic program counterposed to authoritarian movements both of Communism and the domestic Right." During the 1965 National Convention, the Preamble was amended to eliminate the words "counterposed to authoritarian movements both of Communism and the domestic Right."

The book entitled "The New Left" by Phillip Abbott Luce, published in 1966, contains an extensive treatment of SDS which includes the following statements:

"SDS has become more and more radical and has espoused the united-front policy of joining with the myriad of young Communist groups in demonstrations. This indicates a shift in the thinking of the leadership. But it is important for the growth of SDS to keep a public 'ideological independence' in order to keep from being categorized as a Communist organization, which it certainly is not...."(page 149)

"...(SDS) threw open its membership to the young Communists..."(page 156)

"The young Communists are, of course, elated at the ultra-left swing of SDS and are vying to attempt to bring it under their individual control."
(Page 160)

(The dust jacket of "The New Left" describes Luce as having been born in Ohio in 1938 and as having been "widely recognized as a leader and spokesman of the 'New Left' prior to his break with Communism in January of 1965.")

A GROWING MEMBERSHIP

SDS currently claims to have more than 150 chapters across the United States. The then Vice President, Carl Davidson, commented on the size of SDS' membership in an article in the February 3, 1967,

issue of the official SDS publication "New Left Notes" as follows:

"Recently, Nick Egleson and I, after visiting about 60 SDS chapters between us, compared notes on the numerical size of SDS. According to our modest, if not conservative, estimates, about 30,000 young Americans consider themselves members of SDS chapters. Over 6,000 of these have National SDS membership cards. The 30,000 figure is remarkable in two ways. First, we are much larger than we thought we were. Second, starting from almost zero, we have achieved that number in seven years; we have grown tenfold in only 2 years."

(The Nick Egleson referred to above is Nicholas Michael Egleson, who served as President of SDS in 1966-67. He was born in California in June, 1944, and graduated from Swarthmore College in Pennsylvania in June, 1966. Egleson visited North Vietnam in the Spring of 1967 and reported on his trip to the delegates to the SDS National Convention in Ann Arbor, Michigan.)

Davidson's article also stated, "Far more people come looking for us than we manage to consciously reach out to. Hardly a week goes by that the National Office doesn't discover an active SDS chapter somewhere that no one knew existed."

The October 28, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes" contains a list of 145 SDS chapters ranging geographically from the University of Florida at Gainesville to the University of Washington in Seattle. Typical of the colleges and universities where SDS is active today are:

Cornell University in Ithaca, New York, where SDS has shared a basement apartment at 107 Dryden Road as its office with antiwar organizations. At Ithaca, SDS has been very active in protesting United States intervention in Vietnam and opposing military conscription. It has engaged in such demonstrations as the picketing of a Dow Chemical Company (manufacturer of napalm) job-applicant interviewer on the Cornell campus in the Fall of 1966. As part of its campaign of criticism of the University's administration, SDS obtained special buttons in the Fall of 1966. The

buttons came in sets of two and were intended to ridicule Cornell's Proctor, Lowell George. The first button read, "I Am Not Yet Convinced The Proctor is a Horse's Ass." The second button read, "I Am Convinced."

Bruce David Dancis, who was born in New York City in May, 1948, was elected SDS president at Cornell in October, 1966. Dancis was indicted by the Federal Grand Jury at Auburn, New York, on April 4, 1967. The indictment charges that Dancis mutilated his Selective Service card. The alleged mutilation occurred at a public gathering on the campus at Cornell on the afternoon of December 14, 1966, in the presence of a number of persons.

(The March 26, 1967, issue of "The Worker," a communist newspaper, contains an article captioned "Cornell Expels 9 Anti-War Students." This states, "Nine Cornell University students were expelled from school last week when they launched a drive at the Ithaca campus and at the colleges to recruit 500 students who would burn their draft cards at the

April 15 demonstration in New York City. According to Michael Luckman, public relations director of the Spring Mobilization Committee, the nine had recruited 40 Cornell students. Among the expelled students were... Bruce Dancis.")

Pennsylvania State University at University Park, Pennsylvania, where the SDS chapter has staged a fund drive to raise money in support of medical care for persons injured in napalm raids in the Vietnam war. SDS members have also engaged in harassment of the Dow Chemical Company in connection with Dow job-interviewing activities at Penn State this year; and they have insisted that the University administration not cooperate with the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Carl Davidson, Interorganizational Secretary of SDS, is a graduate of Penn State.

University of Wisconsin at Madison, Wisconsin, where Henry W. Haslach, head of the SDS chapter, was arrested in February, 1967, in connection with demonstrations against the Dow Chemical Company at the University.

SDS has been the target of considerable criticism in Madison. Wisconsin State Legislator Gordon Roseleip introduced a resolution in the State Legislature urging abolishment of SDS and the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America (a youth organization which was founded at the direction of the Communist Party and is communist-controlled) at the University of Wisconsin campus.

(The March 13, 1967, issue of "New Left Notes" printed an article under the caption "Wisconsin & Dow" stating in part: "Members of SDS from the University of Wisconsin have been engaged in a prolonged struggle resisting the presence of Dow Chemical recruiters on the Campus... On the third day of the protest, there was a march on campus to protest the arrest of a total of 16 persons in the past two days. During the course of the proceedings about ten more people were arrested.

"Also during the course of the day Marty Tandler, SDS regional traveler, was conducting negotiations with the Chancellor of the University and the Dean of Students. Among the demands for which he was speaking, he urged that the University no longer allow Dow recruiters on campus, or for that matter any recruiters as they perverted the meager attempts for real education. After about five minutes of these negotiations, about 60 adamant SDS people burst into the office. At that moment the Dean lost his cool and started frothing at the mouth and sputtering that the intruders weren't going to let them out of the office. And indeed, those present informed him that they had taken a vote--along with the three hundred outside, and he and the Chancellor would not be allowed to leave. Trusty Chancellor, however, did not lose his cool and proceeded to dwell on the possible legal ramifications of the students' actions which would be taken by THE SYSTEM if they persisted.")

University of California at Berkeley,
California, where a two-day National Council
meeting of SDS under the leadership of the then
President and Vice President of SDS, Nick Egleson
and Carl Davidson, was held in December, 1966.
Opposition to the draft was the main order of
business at the meeting. (See page 30.)

University of Michigan at Ann Arbor, Michigan,
(site of the 1967 SDS National Convention), where SDS
operates through a group known as the Voice Political
Party or simply "Voice." During the past year, SDS
has been involved in a number of demonstrations at the
University. In large part, these have revolved around
(1) the refusal of the University administration to stop
compiling class rankings for the Selective Service
System's assistance in determining draft deferments,
and (2) a ban on disruptive "sit-in" demonstrations by
the University. In 1967, SDS (or, as it is commonly
known at Michigan, "Voice") has staged protests against

personnel recruitment by the Central Intelligence Agency on the campus--and has also been involved in a sit-in at the Ann Arbor Police Department following the confiscation by police of an obscene motion picture which was being shown on the campus.

The SDS chapter at the University of Michigan has most recently been headed by Gary Rothberger. He was preceded in this position by Michael Zweig, a teaching fellow in economics.

(The March 28, 1967, issue of "The Worker," a communist newspaper, contains an article showing that Michael Zweig and Gary Rothenberger "sounded-off" at a function at the University of Michigan involving Senator Philip A. Hart and Congressman Gerald Ford. According to the article, Senator Hart and Congressman Ford "were denounced by anti-war students...when both politicians refused to reply to students on U. S. bombings in North Vietnam." The article states that "Gary Rothenberger, a student, stood up and charged that written questions about the House Un-American Activities Committee and peace had been censored. He proposed open questioning." The article quoted Michael Zweig

as declaring, "...you are killing people in Vietnam;
why do you want to hide what this country is doing?")

"NEW LEFT NOTES"

"New Left Notes," the official weekly newspaper of Students for a Democratic Society, is published at 1606 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois. In October, 1966, it claimed to have a total weekly distribution of 5,596 copies--5,096 to mail subscribers, and 500 distributed free.

"New Left Notes" is more sounding board than news sheet. It provides a medium for SDS officials and supporters to circulate opinions and proposals which they may have. Many of the articles and poems which it publishes would shock the ordinary citizen--particularly those citizens who are repulsed by the sight of four-letter words.

Vietnam, Selective Service, "the military-industrial complex," American foreign policy--these are the favorite targets for attack in "New Left Notes." Others include poverty and discrimination.

SDS and its weekly newspaper are obsessed with methods of avoiding military service. For example, the January 20, 1967, issue of "New Left Notes" contains a boxed announcement urging:

'MAKE DRAFT-RESISTANCE A REALITY

**"Keep the National Office informed regarding
Draft-Resistance programs and activities in
your area. Submit your reports and/or
requests for information to: resist, SDS,
1608 W. Madison, Chicago, Ill. 60612.
For emergency aid or advice call (312)
666-3874. Watch NLN ('New Left Notes')
for the names and addresses of your local
resistance agents. Why don't you organize
a Draft-Resistors Union?"**

BLUEPRINT FOR DRAFT DODGERS

**The February 3, 1967, issue of "New Left Notes" contains
an article by one Mark Kleiman which suggests, "There are numerous
ways of messing up draft boards. Some are only harassment techniques,
while others may be good for organizing." Here are some of Kleiman's
"helpful" observations:**

**"...you have a right to see the file your
(draft) board has on you if you make an appointment.**

Under most circumstances, there is nothing to prevent you from absconding with all or part of your file, or, possibly inserting new data."

* * * * *

"It might also be good to simply send your board a card saying, 'I appeal,' and leave it up to them to find out precisely what it is that you are appealing. A beneficial side-effect of this form of harrasment is that you cannot be drafted while anything relating to your draft status is on appeal."

* * * * *

"It is possible to register people who do not exist.... You can get a photostat (of a birth certificate for a deceased individual)..., go to a draft board, and register under a false name and address. The fun ensues when this mythical person does not respond to any mail, and fails to report for a physical or induction. Ultimately, federal agents will spend much time attempting to track down people who do not exist." (Kleiman points out that such acts of false draft registration are punishable by imprisonment "if you're caught.")

* * * * *

"It is possible to fake a IV-F without using drugs to wreck yourself. You could go to a doctor, and complain of ulcerous symptoms, (sickness after drinking alcohol, sickness if you don't eat, burning sensation if you do, etc.) He will tell you to come back for an X-ray. The night before the X-ray, take some peanut butter, roll it into a ball 1/4 inch in diameter, and leave it out to harden overnight. The next day, swallow it just a few minutes before the X-ray. It will show up in your stomach as a duodinal ulcer. At this point, it shouldn't be too hard to get a letter from the doctor stating that you have this condition. At the physical itself, you could keep a straight pin on the inside of your shorts, and prick your finger lightly when asked for a urine sample, so that a drop of blood becomes mixed with your urine, which would look very much like kidney trouble."

* * * * *

"One thing which is very important to remember is that these centers are rarely on federal property, in which case orders from soldiers should

be resisted firmly and as loudly as possible. At the very worst, the police might be summoned to arrest you for disturbing the peace. "

(The author of the above-cited article appears to be Mark Allen Kleiman, commonly known as Mark Kleiman, who was born in Chicago, Illinois, in January, 1950. Kleiman has attended high school in both Los Angeles, California, and Evanston, Illinois. He dropped out of high school in Illinois in 1966 and subsequently left for California, where he has been functioning as an organizer for SDS. His principal address in California has been the apartment of Sandra Gail Horwitz at 1079 San Pablo Avenue, Albany. Horwitz has been a student at the University of California at Berkeley and a participant in SDS activities.)

At its meeting in Berkeley, California, in December, 1966, the National Council of SDS adopted a very strong "Anti-Draft Resolution." As printed in the January 13, 1967, issue of "New Left Notes," this resolution states, in part:

"SDS reaffirms its opposition to the United States Government's immoral, illegal, and genocidal war against the Vietnamese people....

"SDS reaffirms its opposition to conscription in any form. We maintain that all conscription is coercive and anti-democratic, and that it is used by the United States Government to oppress people in the United States and around the world.

"...SDS therefore encourages all young men to resist the draft. Since individual protest cannot develop the movement needed to end the draft and the war, SDS adopts the following program:

"A. SDS members will organize unions of draft resisters. The members of these unions will be united by the common principle that under no circumstances will they allow themselves to be drafted....

"B. National SDS will assist all efforts to organize, within the armed forces, resistance to United States foreign policy. Towards this end we will publish a periodical newspaper and other literature directed to those already in the armed forces....

"C. Since the primary task of SDS is that of building a movement for social change in the United States, we do not advocate emigration as an alternative to the draft. Nevertheless, we realize that this option is being considered by many young men. We will thus provide information about emigration, and will encourage those who emigrate to build international support for the draft resistance unions and to work for an end to the war."

POSTERS AND STICKERS

Among other targets of SDS criticism and abuse is America's foreign policy. Various issues of "New Left Notes" (the April 3, 1967, issue among them) have published notices regarding "SDS--Agitprop Stickers" which can be purchased through the SDS National Office. Among

these are stickers bearing the inscriptions 'Commit LBJ, NOT the USA' and 'Genocide for fun and profit, Support U. S. Foreign Policy. '

A poster on the front page of the March 13, 1967, issue of "New Left Notes" features a caricature of Secretary of State Dean Rusk. On this poster, Secretary Rusk is referred to as "Scum of the Earth, Boob, Idjit, Stupe" and as "Fool, Eternal Sap." The poster also describes him as a 'Bum, " "Bold-Faced Liar, " "Youth Corrupter, " "Child of Satan" and "Dirty Clod."

Routing Slip
FD-4 (Rev. 8-10-66)

8/15/67

To:

☒ Director

BU 100-439048
FILE CG 100-40903

Att:

SELECTIVE SERVICE DESK

FILE

Title

COMINFIL, STUDENTS

☐ SAC INVESTIGATIVE DIVISION

FOR A DEMOCRATIC
SOCIETY (SDS)

☐ ASAC

☐ Supv.

☐ Agent

☐ SE

☐ IC

☐ CC

RE:

☐ Steno

☐ Clerk

☐ Rotor #:

ACTION DESIRED

☐ Acknowledge

☐ Assign Reassign

☐ Bring file

☐ Call me

☐ Correct

☐ Deadline

☐ Deadline passed

☐ Delinquent

☐ Discontinue

☐ Expedite

☐ File REC-63

☐ For information

☐ Handle

☐ Initial & return

☐ Leads need attention

☐ Return with explanation or notation as to action taken.

☐ Open Case

☐ Prepare lead cards

☐ Prepare tickler

☐ Recharge serials

☐ Return assignment card

☐ Return file

☐ Return serials

☐ Search and return

☐ See me

☐ Send Serials

☐ Submit new charge card

☐ Submit report by

☐ Type 63 1967

ATTACHED ARE TWO COPIES OF "NEW LEFT NOTES",
VOLUME 2, NUMBER 28, ISSUE OF 8/7/67. THESE
COPIES DO NOT HAVE TO BE RETAINED FOR
EVIDENTIARY PURPOSES.

ENCL. 2
REGISTERED

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

SAC

M.W. JOHNSON

See reverse side

Office

CHICAGO

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY - 65112201

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anti-communist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of April 18, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

65112201

20-100000 67 50

100-439048-

NOT RECORDED

126 AUG 22 1967

57

1 - Mr. [REDACTED]

8/24/67

Airtel

**To: SACs, Chicago (100-40903)
New York (100-148047)**

From: Director, FBI (100-439048)

COMINFIL

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY -

IS - C;

SEDITION

GENERAL

ReNYairtel to Director, 8/2/67.

**New York should reduce the information set forth
in above-referenced airtel in form suitable for dissemination.**

Handle promptly.

JAM:jav

(6)

NOTE:

**New York has furnished information in above
captioned matter which pertains to the efforts of members
of the Students for a Democratic Society to avoid or otherwise
prolong their entrance into the armed service. It is felt
that this information should be in LHM form for dissemination,
to the Department.**

REC-55

100-439048-209

18 AUG 24 1967

Isaacs _____
Louch _____
Mc _____
Rosen _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Rm. _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

**MAILED 8
AUG 24 1967
COMM-FBI**

56 AUG 31 1967

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

100-439048-2100

CHANGED TO

100-448253-2

NOV 6 1967

Buljic

Form 100-10-100

FBI

Date: 8/2/67

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____

(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439048)
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-40903)
SUBJECT: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC
SOCIETY - General
SEDITION
OO: CHICAGO

Re Chicago airtel to the Bureau dated 7/26/67
with copy to San Francisco only.

Enclosed for recipient offices of this communication (except San Francisco) are xerox copies of the following documents which are self-explanatory:

1. Bureau airtel to Chicago and San Francisco dated 7/24/67.

- ③ - Bureau (RM) ENCLOSURE
2 - Boston (Enc. 4) (RM)
2 - Cincinnati (Enc. 4) (RM)
2 - Cleveland (Enc. 4) (RM)
2 - Dallas (Enc. 4) (RM)
2 - Detroit (Enc. 4) (RM)
2 - Indianapolis (Enc. 4) (RM)
2 - Los Angeles (Enc. 4) (RM)
2 - New York (Enc. 4) (RM)
2 - Oklahoma City (Enc. 4) (RM)
2 - Philadelphia (Enc. 4) (RM)
2 - San Antonio (Enc. 4) (RM)
2 - San Francisco (RM)
1 - Chicago

ELS:cm
(28)

ST-115

100-1/37048-2101

AUG 4 1967

INT. SEC.

54 SEP 12 1967

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M Per

CG 100-40903

2. Letter from J. WALTER YEAGLEY, Assistant Attorney General, dated 7/17/67.

3. Anti-draft resolution adopted by the SDS National Council on 12/28/66 at Berkeley, California.

4. SDS leaflet concerning draft resistance.

In referenced Chicago airtel dated 7/26/67 it was stated that the Chicago Office would review its files in order to determine which field offices would have logical sources furnishing pertinent information to this investigation. In this connection a review of Chicago files reflects that the Boston, New York, Detroit, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Cincinnati, Indianapolis, Oklahoma City, Dallas and San Antonio Offices may have sources in positions to furnish information concerning this matter and also that SDS activity is of such nature in these divisions that if implementation of the SDS program against the Selective Service System occurs, it is most likely to occur in these areas.

All offices are requested to note that at the SDS National Convention, which was held at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 6/25 to 6/30/67, the following program was adopted with respect to "draft and resistance", which program reads in part as follows:

"SDS reaffirms its opposition to conscription in any form. We maintain that all conscription is coercive and anti-democratic, and that it is used by the United States Government to oppress people in the United States and around the world.

"The Selective Service System is a comprehensive system of coercion and manipulation of the American people.

"A draft resistance program must move beyond individual protest to collective action. SDS reaffirms its call for the formation of draft-resistance unions.

CG 100-40903

Tactics such as civil disobedience and disruption of the Selective Service System are among those advocated when they complement the overall strategy of resistance to the draft and to other forms of oppression.

"SDS does not urge going to jail as a means of resisting the draft, but supports all those whose actions result in imprisonment.

"We do not advocate emigration as an alternative to the draft. Nevertheless, we realize that young men are planning such action, and will provide them with information about emigration. We encourage those who emigrate to build international support for the draft resistance unions and to work for an end to American oppression.

"SDS encourages chapters and draft resistance unions to aid servicemen in disseminating information about conscientious objection and the war in Viet Nam, as well as aid them in opposition and disruption within the Armed Forces. We also urge aid to servicemen who wish to terminate their association with the Armed Forces by going underground.

"All chapters and members of SDS are urged to implement this program on the local level and to commit local resources toward its realization on the national level."

All offices are instructed to conduct investigation in accordance with Bureau instructions as set forth in enclosed Bureau airtel dated 7/24/67 and should furnish the results of this investigation to the Chicago Office by 8/28/67 in order that the Bureau deadline may be met.

Chicago following this matter closely



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

San Francisco, California

August 3, 1967

Re: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)

Reference is made to the following memoranda dated December 29, 1966 and January 17, 1967 at San Francisco, California; January 17, 1967 at Detroit, Michigan; and July 14, 1967 at New York City, captioned STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY, all of which pertain to the "Anti-Draft Program" of SDS. The January 17, 1967 memorandum at Detroit set forth a copy of the original "Anti-Draft Program," introduced by CARL GEORGE DAVIDSON, then SDS Vice President, and others, with his name appearing on the proposed program. The January 17, 1967 San Francisco memorandum contains a copy of the final resolution adopted by the SDS National Council meeting on December 28, 1966. The New York memorandum of July 14, 1967 on page 19, sets forth the SDS "Anti-Draft Resolution" adopted by the 1967 SDS National Convention held at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, June 25-30, 1967.

A characterization of the SDS is attached hereto.

The "Anti-Draft Resolution" was published in the January 13, 1967 issue of "New Left Notes", the official publication of the SDS, 1608 West Madison, Chicago, Illinois.

Reproduced copies of pertinent pages of "New Left Notes", issue of January 13, 1967 are set forth.

Page 1 of "New Left Notes" states that for nineteen hours the National Council of SDS debated the resolution "on programmatic resistance to the draft" and also sets forth the official "Anti-Draft Resolution."

Reproduced from Page 3 is the publication notice showing that "New Left Notes" has been entered as second class matter at the Post Office at Chicago, Illinois.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

ENCLOSURE 100 1-51078-2101

Re: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)

It also lists certain officers of SDS. Page 5 lists the National Council delegates eligible to vote on the "Anti-Draft Resolution" as well as the minutes of the December 1966 National Council meeting.

Pages 7 and 8 contain a continuation of the minutes from December 1966 which pertain to the "Anti-Draft Resolution."

national secretary's report from PROTEST to RESISTANCE

The quarterly council of SDS has been a busy one. In the last few months, we have been working on a number of projects. One of the most important is the development of a national strategy for the SDS movement. This strategy will be based on the principle of "protest to resistance".

The quarterly council of SDS has been a busy one. In the last few months, we have been working on a number of projects. One of the most important is the development of a national strategy for the SDS movement. This strategy will be based on the principle of "protest to resistance".

For sixteen hours the National Council debated a resolution on programmatic resistance to the draft - and finally adopted a militant version of that program. That program does not tell about politics or the rights of power. It does not tell about the new society or the democratization of the social system. It tells about the only thing that has given life and meaning to the movement - it tells about the kind of struggle which has been most successful to the left - the revolutionary struggle which engages and claims the lives of those in action despite the seeming impossibility of resistance in a system which has the power to transform to reveal or to suppress human lives who are not in accordance with the social conditions of the system. It is the struggle which has offered imprisonment and even death as a way of being free - which says that "this is what a human being must do no matter what the consequences, because this is what it means to be a human being." This is the struggle for freedom in our time - this is the struggle of slaves against their masters - this is what being a "little nigger" meant in the South and what it means in the North - this is the first act of freedom.

One might dispute the political wisdom of the program. One may deny the fact of analysis. One may be repelled by the lack of draft or, but, when one does not understand what is being said, it is impossible to understand what has created and sustained the new radical movement. Individual and collective decisions to free our lives in new ways which may involve a risk to our very existence in order to break through the existing barriers to human life. It is a subjective struggle for individual freedom and meaning that is against the "objective" world which denies freedom and self-realization. It offers no clear path to power, no magic formula or success, only struggle and a new life. No promise is made, only the hope that struggle and confrontation with the existing system of inhumanity will create freedom in the midst of a life-threatening society.

We can speculate endlessly about how draft resistance might end the war. However, only taking action has created the draft. It changes peoples' lives can create a draft resistance movement. Call that "non-draft", "personality", "re-growth", or "crisis" - you will not have dealt with the reality which created the movement. Talk of "political" and "ideology" and you will not have plumbed the depths of the motivation SDS put simply was not interested in talking about organizational problems or about political analysis. It is only its deepest concern in talking about what people can do

with their lives . . . and with their bodies.

All that should interest us as to some basic readiness about SDS. At its present stage of development, SDS cannot be understood in terms of traditional political organization. Its first ideological clarity (as political analysis) is organizational clarity. Its first organizational clarity is organizational clarity. Its first organizational clarity is organizational clarity.

SDS, as a movement, is a wedge into American society. It is involved in the creation of what Carl Oglesby called "space" - breathing space, living space, freedom space - in a society which increasingly stifles freedom. These who opposed the draft resistance program because they considered it "adventurist" failed to understand the dynamics of "movement" completely. If the wedge is to continue to create more and more space in the society, then we cannot retreat from these areas of greatest tension where the risks are most dangerous. We were once desperate "Trotskyists in a System." The movement has begun to pry open the jaws of that trap. The necessity which we must deal with involves keeping up the pressure on that trap and it is finally sprung. In the process, new life, new hope, and new freedom are created - but, above all, it engages the lives of people in new ways and that's how revolutionary cadres are built.

Two years ago, Lee Webb and Paul Booth urged SDS to move "From Protest to Politics".

ANTI-DRAFT RESOLUTION

(Adopted by the National Council, Students for a Democratic Society, December 28, 1966 Berkeley, Calif.)

1. SDS reaffirms its opposition to the United States Government's imperial, illegal, and genocidal war against the Vietnamese people in their struggle for self-determination.

2. SDS reaffirms its opposition to conscription in any form. We maintain that all conscription is coercive and undemocratic, and that it is used by the United States Government to oppress people in the United States and around the world.

3. SDS condemns the requirements of the economic system and the foreign policy of the United States.

4. SDS opposes and will organize against any attempt to legitimize the Selective Service System or reforms. The proposals for a draft or for compulsory national service would not change the essential purpose of the draft - to abduct young men to fight in aggressive wars.

5. SDS believes that a sense of urgency must be developed that will move people to leave the campus and organize a movement of resistance to the draft and the war. Its base is poor, working class, and middle class communities.

6. SDS therefore encourages all young men to resist the draft. Since individual protest cannot develop the movement needed to end the draft and the war, SDS adopts the following program:

A. SDS members will organize units of draft resisters. The members of these units will be united by the common principle that under no circumstances will they allow themselves to be drafted. The local units will reach out to all young men of draft age by organizing in the high schools, universities, and communities. Confrontation during the induction process and at the time of induction, (b) anti-draft and anti-war education among potential inductees and their families,

(c) demonstrations centering on draft boards and recruiting stations, (d) encouraging young men already in the military to oppose the war, and (e) circulating petitions stating that the signer will refuse to serve in Vietnam or submit to conscription in any form. National SDS will coordinate the local units on a regional and national level, providing staff (including travelers), supplies, and financial aid.

B. National SDS will assist all of local units to organize within the armed forces resistance to United States for, open policy towards this and we will publish a general newsletter and other literature directed to those of ready in the armed forces. This is an effort to reach men who, within a system of involuntary conscription, are indoctrinated as well as isolated from open discussion. We seek to break the barriers placed between us and our brothers in uniform.

C. Since the primary task of SDS is that of building a movement for war and change in the United States, we do not attach importance as an end in itself to the draft. Nevertheless, we realize that the system is being maintained by many young men. We will thus provide information about conscription and draft resistance to all who express a basic resistance to war and to death for an end to the war.

D. Chapters and members of SDS are urged to implement the program on the local level and to coordinate local resources toward its implementation at the national level.

passed by 53-19-3

new left notes

1966 in, medium, cm. 200

VOL. 2, NO. 3 let the people decide JANUARY 13, 1967

for a RADICAL CAMPAIGN in '68

We are three graduate students of the University of Wisconsin. We submitted this essay in the hope that it will have some bearing on the discussions that will be held following the Mobilization of November 24. We have attempted to synthesize some of the present day radical thinking on where the movement should go from here. We hope that the national campaign suggested in this essay will be seen as a way to build and strengthen the existing radical movements and not as an alternative.

We are sending this to various peace candidates and radical organizations all over the country. Comments and/or questions may be addressed to: Michael Moorhead, 1319 Juniper St., Madison, Wisconsin 53703.

Gerald E. Moorhead
Michael Moorhead
Stephen C. Rabin

PROPOSAL FOR A RADICAL PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN IN 1968

INTRODUCTION

If the left is united in any desire, it is to the desire for radical change. The greatest obstacle to radical change in this country is the strongly held belief that the power structure maintains over the minds of the vast majority of the population. Discontent may be widespread but at present it is unconscious and voiceless. The main task before any radical movement is to articulate discontent both latent and manifest, and to create understanding of the corruption of our society. From this will come groupings towards solutions. We must emphasize, however, that the all important first step must be taken. Discontent must be articulated and a radicalized population must be achieved.

(Continued on page 6)

inside this issue

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RADICAL HISTORY

C.I.P.A. P. 2

Alternatives
P. 3 to the Strike

High School
Anti-War Activities P. 2

DOW P. 8
PRESIDENT'S
REPORT P. 4

N.C. Minutes
P. 6

SF 14-213
JPS/amo

Re: STUDENTS FOR DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)

NEW LEFT NOTES

Published weekly by Students for a Democratic Society, 1603 W. Madison, Chicago, Ill. 60612. Phone (312) 686-3874. Second-class postage paid at Chicago, Illinois. Subscriptions: \$1 a year for members, \$3 a year for non-members. Signed articles and letters are the responsibility of the writer. Unsigned articles are the responsibility of the editor, Cathy Wilkerson.

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

Michalek, president; Carl Davidson, vice president; and Greg Gilbert, national secretary.

National Office: 1603 W. Madison, Rm. 20, Chicago, Ill. 60612 (312) 686-3874

New York City: 49 West 27th St., NYC, NY 10011; (212) 633-5793

Niagra Region: 107 Dryden Rd., Ithaca, NY

Northern California: 924 Howard St., San Francisco, Calif. (415) 362-7022

Southern California: 4310 Melrose, Los Angeles, California, 90010

New England: 138 River St., Cambridge, Mass., 02139

Radical Education Project: 510 East William, Ann Arbor, Mich.

VOL. 2, NO. 2 let the people decide JANUARY 13, 1967

10

DECEMBER N.C.

NC Delegates

Minutes

Chapter	
Amherst	Paul From
Brandeis	John Berkeley Sam Shapiro Susan Gifford
Bryn Mawr	Jeff Gordon
U of Cal. Irvine	Peter Sabin
UCLA	Morgan Tyner
U of Chicago	Steve Goldsmith Randrick Howard Strang Stephen Gabel
Cornell	Mark Berman
Columbia	Mark Greenberg
Concord	Scott Robinson
Denver	Paul Goggin
East Hill College	Gail Reisman
Graceland	Mark D.S. Jr.
Harvard	Mark Goggin Sam Vart Dave Wiley Alvin Goggin John Spitzer
Harvard State	Jack Sheridan
U of Illinois, Chicago	Urban John Berkeley Vincent MacLean
U of Illinois, Chicago Circle	Rich Berkman
U of Illinois, Chicago Circle	Carl Soggin
U of Iowa	Sam Goggin
Kansas City at large	Barbara Sanderson
Kansas U	(Mary) Christine (David)
U of Kentucky	Bill MacCall
Los Angeles SDS	David Goggin
Lowell S. Clark	Alexander Paul
Madisonian Comm. College	Terry Davis
U of Michigan	Bon McLean Gail From
U of Missouri - Columbia	John Goggin
U of Missouri - Kansas City	Mike Goggin

U of Nevada	Bob Goggin
U of New Mexico	Urb Goggin
New York at large	Scott Goggin
Ohio	Bob Goggin
U of Ohio - Athens	Ed Goggin
U of Oklahoma	John Goggin
Roosevelt University	Eric Goggin
San Diego State	Shari Whitehead Bob Goggin
San Francisco Valley State	Bob Goggin
San Francisco State	Richard Tabor Jeff McConery
Santa Cruz	Alvin Goggin
U of Southern Cal.	David Goggin
Stanford	Richard Goggin Sam Goggin
U of Utah	Jim Goggin
SUNY - Stony Brook	Gail Goggin
U of Tennessee	Sam Goggin Graham Goggin
U of Texas	Sam Goggin David Goggin Carl Goggin
Trinity College	Robert Goggin
VOICES	Sam Goggin Bob Goggin Skip Goggin Red Goggin Steve Goggin Paul Goggin
Washington State U.	Larry Goggin
Washington U. - St. Louis	Doug Goggin
U of Wisconsin	Robert Goggin Richard Goggin
U of Wisconsin - Milwaukee	Sam Goggin Sam Goggin
Wisconsin State U. - La Crosse	Dennis Goggin

National Inform Comm. Rec
NC Delegates at large

Bill Goggin
Honey Goggin
Carl Goggin
Jeff Goggin
Bob Goggin
Mark Goggin
Sam Goggin
Carol Goggin
Terry Goggin
Steve Goggin
* a few others I forgot who did not attend
add to list

Fraternities Organizations
Student Religious Liberals

Clyde Goggin

Members on the draft began to show up on December 27, 1968. The first day of the discussion consisted of general remarks on the draft issue and the second which SDS should take on it. In order to make the discussion more effective to those who were not there, I will report the remarks in a condensed form, which will at times vary from the chronological sequence of the speakers.

The first question raised was the seriousness of SDS's intent to actually urge people to "resist" the draft. The national forum on this question, moderated by the Chair Lake Convention, had passed 194 to 75, the total of 19 votes representing less than 2% of the total SDS membership. Members of the NC were therefore uncertain as to whether or not they had the ability and the mandate to pass a national program which incorporated this element (the question was voted on at the end of the discussion the following day and it was decided that the NC did have that power).

Carl Davidson had a proposal for national SDS action on the draft, but said he would withhold it until the NC had clearly decided its intention to advocate draft resistance. After some discussion, the body of delegates decided that it could not finally decide on that until a know of the content and nature of the draft resistance. Carl was urged to present his proposal.

Davidson prefaced his remarks by observing that in the past, actions against the draft had been individually and symbolically oriented. As an attempt to maximize the effectiveness of an anti-draft action he proposed the formation of local unions of draft resisters. The members of these unions would continue to seek various exemptions from the draft, such as G.O. 25 etc., but they would explicitly unite on the common ground of "We Won't Go". These unions would help build a feeling of community and solidarity among those who were seeking to dissent.

Action would be oriented around the specific place where the draft touches the lives of the union members, i.e. the induction centers. Members would use resourceful tactics, such as the burning out of Duesen's article, at the induction center to make their point collectively and to extend their organization. The union would create a collective confrontation of the Selective Service System, therefore, when one of the members was being harassed or persecuted, the union would have a collective response to his dilemma.

Queries from the floor then clarified other aspects of the proposal. The purpose of the unions would be both collective disruption of the system and also a positive attempt to build a community of resistance. If adopted, Carl saw the program becoming a major priority for SDS resources.

In the following discussion, delegates referred to their local situations to evaluate the desirability of the draft program. Three basic concerns dominated the discussion. First, was a national SDS program the solution at this point? What would be the role and implications of a national program? Second, if we were to adopt a national program, what content and focus should it have? Alternatives and additions to Carl's program were suggested. And third, were SDS members and enough people in local communities ready and capable of setting up a nationally coordinated program? The participants of Carl's program dominated the discussion on this question.

(Continued on page 6)

* Asterisk denotes delegate attendance and registration. If a delegate failed to attend NC or did not register at NC, asterisk will not appear next to name.

NAC Minutes

NAC members present: Guy Chabert, Bob
Berkman, Jane Adams, Steve Goldstein,
Earl Baker, Cathy Williams

NAC members absent: Bob Berkman, Jane
Adams

Others present: Ben Taylor, Linda Green,
Sam Condon, Marybeth, Bruce Carlson

AGENDA

1. Draft Resolution Resolution
2. Draft Resolution Resolution
3. Draft Resolution Resolution
4. Literature
5. Membership Policy
6. NAC

1. Draft Resolution Resolution
A. The NAC decided to give up of the
draft resolution of the Draft Resolution
and the National Secretariat's case for
distribution to other organizations and
individuals.

Earl Baker requested information on re-
solutions to the Draft Resolution re-
solutions. The National Secretariat's
from the NAC (drafted Regional Office) which
submitted the NAC on the dangers of sub-
mitting such a resolution (the letter was re-
jected in context). Other resolutions were
submitted but it was concluded that no re-
solutions of draft resolutions have
yet been sent.

B. Guy Chabert suggested that the NAC
should discuss the problem of implementing
the Draft Resolution resolution. At this point
Earl Baker discussed his recent draft
resolution which included the writing of sev-
eral letters to people around the country
in which he urged the establishment of
regional communication possibly a news
bulletin to send the draft news.
At this point Guy presented an agree-
ment from Bob Berkman, a draft which
suggested having a National Draft Resolution
Coordinator. Bob submitted a draft. Some-
thing for the job. This idea was discussed
in relation to the problem of having a dy-
namic organizer who could move people from
the level of individual communication to
a level of organized communication. The
level of organized communication on the na-
tional level was also discussed with special
emphasis on high school and post-graduate
organizing. During the discussion the NAC
considered several persons for the job of
National Draft Resolution Coordinator, and
it was decided that the National Secretariat
should appoint these people and coordinate
their activities for the position.

3. Draft Resolution Resolution
The question of having additional
Field Secretaries was raised. Guy indicated
that applications for these positions have
been received from the following persons:

A. Doug Hartley, Doug has been travel-
ing and organizing in Southern California.
He has suggested that he would work on
national education and that since the
NAC approved Doug's application and
agreed to provide support in the form of
travel.

B. A second application from Bill Hartley
who has been organizing in Denver and
Albuquerque was received. The NAC approved
Bill's application and agreed to give him
\$100 per month provided that Bill meets
NAC standards for a Field Secretary (con-
stant travel and report writing).

C. The NAC examined an application re-
ceived from Jane Adams. Jane plans to
organize around a proposed educational
center in the San Francisco area would
organize Black, Indian, and Northern Ariz.

most. Jane's application was approved pro-
vided that adequate funding can be
provided.

D. The NAC approved the hiring of John
Thompson as the new Chapter Coordinator.

E. Guy noted that Mary Berkman from
Minneapolis (M. of Thompson) has expressed a
desire to organize a regional office. This
was mentioned by Guy Thompson from the
NAC. Guy indicated that he would travel
to Minneapolis in the near future to discuss
the possibility of forming a region. The NAC
decided (at least temporarily) to provide
Mary with the support she has requested.

The NAC suggested that if any chapters in
the region where the new Field Secretary
will be working should be in the future
they should advise the NAC. The suggestion
was also made that the Field Secretary
should work toward the development of
a fully responsible regional office which
would be capable of supporting these new Field
Secretaries.

3. The San Francisco Region
A. The question of the San Francisco Region
was discussed. Guy reviewed the dy-
namic history of the Regional Office. He then
pointed out that Walt Sherry has resigned
as Regional Coordinator. Bob Spickard and Eric
Chester have moved into the office (on the
basis of a meeting held at the Berkeley NAC
at which three or four Regional Chapters
were present). This development has re-
sulted in some confusion regarding the rela-
tionship of the NAC to the San Francisco Office.
This situation was discussed and Steve Gold-
stein proposed that the NAC urge the chap-
ters in the San Francisco Region to hold a
Regional Conference at which the internal
policy of the region and its relationship to
the NAC would be worked out. The NAC
unanimously approved this suggestion.

B. Tom Condit, who is leaving the NAC for
San Francisco, suggested that he be ap-
pointed as full-time field order literature Sec-
retary for the West Coast area. This suggestion
was discussed and the NAC decided that
brother Condit should evaluate the Regional
situation and submit a report to the NAC
before any final decision is made regarding
his appointment.

4. Literature: Wayne Gorden INO Lit.
Sec. I suggested ordering more copies of
"Attitudes in Viet Nam". He also informed
the NAC that he is organizing a literature
fair, exchange with AFSC. At this point,
the NAC discussed the need for a good pamph-
let on Black Power, and the body approved
the production of such a pamphlet.

5. Jane Adams informed the NAC that
representatives (Max Primack and Paul
Berkman) organizing a conference to discuss
new policies have requested permission to
mail an announcement of the conference to
the NAC membership. The NAC approved
the use of the membership lists for a single
mailing.

6. Dave Jacobson informed the NAC that
he had for the commercial mailing of NAC have
been selected. He pointed out the multi-
media advantages that would accrue to the
organization if NAC were commercially
handled. The NAC approved the mailing of
NAC by a commercial mailing house if the
total annual cost does not exceed \$2,500.

Minutes submitted by
Dave Jacobson

JANUARY 13, 1967 NEW LEFT NOTES

"...well just blow their minds"

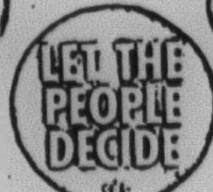
Marie Savio



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Buttons! Buttons! Buttons!
Dig Buttons, Little Buttons,
Green Buttons, Red Buttons,
Black Buttons,
and White Buttons
RED & BLACK BUTTONS
ORDER NOW!

50% Discount on Bulk Orders

Students for a democratic society
Room 205
1608 W. Madison
Chicago, Illinois 60612

Thoughts on the free universities

"The current intellectual fashion in social
science calls for simplicity and activism.
The subtleties, complexities and ambiguities
that have been the mark of serious
thought are now taken to signify a failure
of nerve, a compromise with evil, and eva-
sion of responsibility."

G. Himmelfarb, NY Review
of Books, May 6, 1965

"One promise for life and another for
science is prima facie a falsehood."

E. Marx

There are the Free Universities challenged.
Our problems are of such magnitude that
Free Universities, childishly, creep up
around the country. They clearly respond
to some felt needs.

The specific nature of these needs depends
upon specific critiques of existing Univer-
sities.

In the schools that were such a source
of pride in the last century, it has
been found impossible to do more than
teach the masses of the techniques
of modern life, it has been found im-
possible to educate them.

Ortega y Gasset, Roughly

If one's critique agrees with Ortega's,
he's led to demand the universities stand
uncompromised and to seek resolution in the
new freedom.

But Free Universities didn't arise in the ab-
sence of a tradition. They only occurred
when these concepts were able to stand on
the old world. Free Universities are
the necessary of the social system, it was
to change it, we must change from free
universities after a phase for organizing strategy
and events on the basis of the present
situation. The history of the universities
from its origins until now, and now, tell
us that on the basis of the Free Univer-
sities, we must continue to work with
the concepts in education to maintaining a living
tradition towards Universities, they are called
to the movement the spirit for research,
debate, and self-criticism.

Education, James thought, struggle. They
are necessarily filled with various published
only. Political action must be combined with
research. They must learn to work with others
in research, rather than individual, separate
labor. They must learn to work with others
in research, rather than individual, separate
labor. They must learn to work with others
in research, rather than individual, separate
labor.

Free Universities arise in response to
these needs. But they must learn to work
with others in research, rather than individual,
separate labor. They must learn to work with
others in research, rather than individual,
separate labor. They must learn to work with
others in research, rather than individual,
separate labor.

PGW, 81
The Evening Bulletin
Thursday, Dec 12, 1964

A representative of Dow Chemical Co., who will be at Brown University tomorrow to interview candidates for employment, will be met by guides and pamphleteers protesting the company's manufacture of napalm for use in Vietnam.

An ad in the Oregon Daily Herald today reminded students "if you really want to do something, you've got a date with the man from there."

The ad, signed by 18 persons, has been placed in the campus newspaper by a newly organized committee called the Maine Island Chapter of the Citizens Committee Against Napalm.

Mark Rappaport, a junior at the Rhode Island School of Design, a spokesman for the chapter, said it has about 20 members and is affiliated with the national committee which has headquarters in Brooklyn, N.Y.

Mr. Rogers said protesters holding a protest by four-foot signs will stand at the Fournier House Arch on Waterman Street from 9 a.m. to 4 p.m. tomorrow to call attention to the protest.

The sign, he said, will have a large arrow pointing to the university placement office and will read "Interviews for Dow Chemical Co."

Mr. Suprenant said, "I think it's important to mention the few things people can do when we're interested. Quit buying Sears Roebuck Handy Wares and write to the Dow Chemical Co. in Midland, Michigan and tell them your feelings about radiation."

They said in the World Journal of pictures of leaders that have been taken by regular forces of the protesters' reportedly are trying to encourage cooperation with the Don't buy or use goods as they can support the situation in the country.

**REMAINDER: "IF YOU REALLY WANT TO DO SOMETHING
YOU'VE GOT A DATE WITH THE MAN FROM DOW"**
INTERVIEWS TOMORROW AT PLACEMENT OFFICE

THE DOW CHEMICAL COMPANY



NAPALM DID THIS

DOW CHEMICAL CO., the makers of **SARAN WRAP,** manufacture **NAPALM**
 Providence Chapter of the Citizens' Campaign Against Napalm

Sam Sanders
Co. 4 - 2nd Regt
Cavalry
1st Div
Wentworth, N. H.

Grand South
Marine Corps
States College

Learn a Little
 About Us
 See Us
 Call Us
 See Us
 Call Us

Mark Gully
Scott West
Gully Lumber

DECEMBER NC

MINUTES

(Continued from page 24)

If Americans of a national program could see the progress Gary Calkins had made using the personal efforts of a mass of people in the same light as those of the first Peace Corps which tried an example of challenge to produce the progress of America today, I believe the effort to make a program would produce a similar level of commitment and there is a recommendation of the Commission that suggests that we use to show that such a has produced changes can come to some of the best of the world. The quality of the national program that I would recommend that would be the best of the world.

The second argument on the card by the Nation of Islam is, and says, "There are three types of slaves: those who are the slaves of the devil and money, those who are the slaves of the devil and the devil, and those who are the slaves of the devil and the devil." This is a very clever argument, but it is a very poor one. It is a very poor argument because it is a very poor argument.

[illegible]

These appeared to be a national policy and were generally concerned with the effects of such on their kind of life. Chapters dealing with the economy, the environment, the family, the city and the nation were of a more general nature and did not go into the details of the various problems which were being discussed.

Others challenged the feasibility of Carl program. They held that the possible consequences of arbitrary removal in national programs would pose serious risk to its leaders.

[illegible][illegible][illegible]

It was also pointed out that they were, particularly responsible for the construction of the the system that SBT was not able to handle the program the suggested three perhaps and a small amount of money, such as \$1000, to handle a others very

[illegible]

The point that under program was a further
step towards the completion of the program.

Because the meeting hall had to be vacated long before the start of the study, Ralph Carr's personal Mother of Godhood College presented an alternative that "is another alternative SEMI pro substance abuse to people on getting hooked marijuana lives in Canada. We encourage people to go to Canada." The second part of the message "to encourage people to go to Canada, but, but the more money you spend I have four minutes on period which means that a positive vote for Carr's proposition would send it to a 15-year sentence and it would then be legally ruled on the 15th day of the month on these provisions.

The Second Day

The NAC reviewed the morning of the 28 Window reports of Carl's proposed withdrawal to see the risk of that the various reports should be discussed and noted upon in the guide in which they appeared.

NEW LEFT NOTES
Box 200
1400 N. Dearborn
Chicago, IL 60612
Barbara [redacted]

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The magnitude of the discussion on rights of Section 2 of the British passport was around 100,000, and it changed the first sentence to "We consider, in connection with the draft in question, the current content of American foreign policy". There was then debate on whether or not we supported the draft but in substance, which was related to the economic liberal in its content, or merely in the present context. It was decided that the type of reformulation and changing was required, the intensive reform system, was a fundamentally appropriate and was still relevant to them in their country. The reform was not the usual type of economic reform, it was a reform as well as in the area of the industry and foreign policy. The second point was changing the last sentence into the last.

Further discussion focused on the parts color wording of certain sections, but made no substantial changes in the original content. An amendment by Steve Goldsmith was adopted and became section 5.

At the completion of debate, the entire proposal was passed 23-10-3.

Re: Students for Democratic Society (SDS)

The "New Left Notes" of June 26, 1967, page 16, in an article captioned "Membership Report" stated the recorded membership of SDS was 8,371 members, and there was in addition 588 people who subscribe to "New Left Notes" who are not SDS members. The author of this article is JIM FITE of the National Office staff of SDS at Chicago.

The "New Left Notes" issue of June 26, 1967, page 16, contained an article by MIKE KNICHENKO, describing the responsibilities of the SDS National Membership Secretary-Rayte Clerk, which stated in effect that at that time, those persons who wished to become SDS members are mailed from the national office in Chicago, in addition to their membership card, a "Basic SDS Brochure, consisting at this time of the 'SNCC Resolution', the 'Anti-Draft Resolution', 'Democracy is Nothing', and a current literature list.

The "New Left Notes" of June 26, 1967, page 17, in an article captioned, "What the Hell Has the National Office Been Doing?" by DEE JACOBSEN, stated in part under a sub caption: "Draft Resistance":

"To date, the NO has had only one person on salary specifically for the purpose of working on the draft-resistance program created at the Berkeley NC. Jeff Segal, our National Draft-Resistance Coordinator, has traveled extensively in the Midwest and Western portions of the country. He has talked with dozens of groups and collected much valuable information which is now being compiled and edited. This material should appear in the form of a comprehensive draft-resistance manual sometime before the beginning of August.

"Opposition to the draft in the form of draft-resistance has been growing rapidly. There are now more than 60 Draft-Resistance Unions or 'We Won't Go' groups in existence, and the frequency of induction refusals and AWOLs has jumped markedly. In the last eight weeks the NO has sold over 10,000 CO Guides and 5,000 copies of the NLN special Issue On the Draft.

Re: STUDENTS FOR DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)

"The Summer promises to be exciting and fruitful for draft-resistance organizers, and these organizers will probably gather at a national conference that is projected for early September in Madison, Wisc.

GLENN KEENER, Chief Special Investigative Section, 115th Military Intelligence Group (MIG), Presidio of San Francisco, and Mr. EUGENE POWER, Commanding Officer, San Francisco Field Office, 115th MIG, have advised on July 31, 1967, that while Selective Service registrants have refused to be inducted and some may have indicated membership in SDS, they have no records which would identify those specific individuals by group affiliation. Both explained that the Military Intelligence Group from this area would have to attempt to review all pending cases presently assigned to their field offices which cover the twelve Armed Forces Examining and Entrance Stations (AFES) in fifteen western states and find some way of retrieving and reviewing the completed investigations which have been forwarded U.S. Army Intelligence Command (USAINTC) at Fort Holabird, Maryland. Both explained that the usual procedure is for a local Selective Service Board to order a registrant to an AFES. Upon arrival, the registrant is asked to execute a DD 328 Department of Defense Statement of Personal History where a registrant might list SDS affiliation, but no specific provision is made for same. The registrant is then asked to execute a DD 98, Department of Defense Armed Forces Security Questionnaire. This does not include SDS since it is not included on the Attorney General's list of cited organizations. The registrant as a civilian can refuse to complete any of these forms at any time and if he refuses, he is interviewed by a representative of the MIG who advises the registrant of his legal rights and some refuse to discuss their reasons, but in almost every case they are sent home since a determination can not be made as to their acceptability to the Armed Forces. Some later file Conscientious Objector claims under the more recent Supreme Court rulings on "religious training" or follow with other appeals.

Re: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)

Due to such delays, it would not be feasible to contact personnel at the AFHS as to their recollections since they are constantly changing and being sent to all parts of the world in routine changes of assignment.

In such cases, the information is forwarded through intelligence channels of the Department of the Army who handles these matters for all branches of the Armed Forces. An investigation and national agency check is usually made by the Army and the individual cases are usually adjudicated by the Headquarters U.S. Army Recruiting Command, Hampton, Virginia, 23506. It was the local understanding that this command decides if the individual registrant may be considered a security threat or if he would be otherwise unacceptable to the Armed Forces.

Both ARBER and POWER advised that the above data was for guidance of the Department of Justice in discussing the matter with the Department of the Army to determine if records are maintained either at Fort Belvoir or by the Recruiting Command, and their statements were made to expedite FBI inquiries, but are not an official statement of Army policy in these matters. Both advised that since the SDS has not been cited by the Attorney General, their general policy restricts their agents from asking registrants any specific questions regarding membership in the SDS. Investigation in cases handled by them has sometimes disclosed SDS affiliation.

Both advised that since the request to review their files for instances of individuals refusing to cooperate in the induction procedure because of SDS affiliation involves a policy matter, would involve a considerable cost in manpower and should be done uniformly by each HIG Field Office covering a AFHS, they would prefer that uniform instructions be issued to them by Army Headquarters at the Pentagon after the project had been discussed with their headquarters.

Both advised that only when a registrant is found to be acceptable and refuses to be inducted are these referred to the FBI for investigation and subsequent presentation to United States Attorney for prosecutive opinion.

Re: STUDENTS FOR DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)

Lieutenant Colonel FRANCIS LYMAN, Coast Area Headquarters, Selective Service System, Room 9427, Federal Office Building, 450 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, stated that his office had been advised on certain occasions of individuals passing out leaflets or literature at Induction Stations. This involved individuals from Washington, Oregon, as well as California, and while certain ones had been arrested by local police for trespass and similar charges, it was his recollection from review of correspondence in these cases that they involved other "anti draft" organizations. None showed a specific SDS connection (Specific attention is directed to San Francisco reports captioned Vietnam Day Committee - Sedition, Bureau file 14-2943 and STEVEN CHERKOSS, JOHN WINDRIM SMITH, JR., SEDITION, Bureau file 14-2942, in which cases the Department of Justice has been furnished all the details and a Departmental opinion is pending. Correspondence in other cases mentioned by Colonel LYMAN shows they were eventually referred to U. S. Attorneys for handling as Conscientious Objectors.) Colonel LYMAN stated that his files would not be as complete as Army files on the specific items involved in this inquiry, and no provisions have been made to notify him of such cases.

1.

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us". At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anti-communist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of April 18, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

APPENDIX

Routing Slip
FD-4 (Rev. 6-14-65)

To:

☐ Director

Att.:

☐ SAC

☐ ASAC

☐ Supv.

☐ Agent

☐ SE

☐ IC

☐ CC

☐ Steno

☐ Clerk

FILE

Title

RE:

☐ Rotor #:

ACTION DESIRED

☐ Acknowledge

☐ Assign Reassign

☐ Bring file

☐ Call me

☐ Correct

☐ Deadline

☐ Deadline passed

☐ Delinquent

☐ Discontinue

☐ Expedite

☐ File

☐ For information

☐ Handle

☐ Initial & return

☐ Leads need attention

☐ Return with explanation or notation as to action taken.

☐ Open Case

☐ Prepare lead cards

☐ Prepare tickler

☐ Recharge serials

☐ Return assignment card

☐ Return file

☐ Return serials

☐ Search and return

☐ See me

☐ Send Serials

☐ to

☐ Submit new charge out

☐ Submit report by

☐ Type

Enc 1. 2

ENCLOSURE

See reverse side

SAC

Office

Chicago

54 SEP 7 1967

REC 3 / 1 / 1967

AUG 31 1967

100-439048-3103
CHANGED TO
100-439048-3-1041

NOV 21 1967

2104 20.12
415 9-20 73

64

100-439048-511 IN THIS FILE SKIPPED DURING
SERIALIZATION.

King
B
11-14-67

August 15, 1967

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Director,
Federal Bureau of Investigation

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I am interested in gaining information on a radical student movement known as the Students for a Democratic Society. ^{GENK} A chapter is attempting to gain approval for full activity on the campus of King's College; which I attend. While I personally know much about it, I would desire to gain some credible information and evidence in order to fight it's establishment on campus. While I am writing various Congressional committees, their image is not sufficient to impress student leaders. Therefore, I would greatly desire some information from your office that could be decisive in stopping it.

At my school, the organizer has merely stated that it is "a society to improve student life on campus". I would greatly appreciate a prompt reply since school will soon be starting.

EX-110

Sincerely yours

REC 29

SEP 12 1967

CORRESPONDENCE

September 7, 1967

REC 29

100-439048-2167
b7C

C.D. Brennan
b7C

Dear [REDACTED]

Your letter was received on September 6th.

In response to your request, it has always been my policy not to inject the FBI or myself into matters such as you described in your letter. Decisions regarding the establishment of any organization on a college campus must remain the responsibility of the college administration. I can, however, furnish you such information concerning the background of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) as I would furnish to any citizen making inquiry.

The SDS, as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam, and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anticommunist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. I am enclosing material concerning this organization.

REC-D 8121106
to Edgar Hoover
Sincerely yours,

to [REDACTED]
2/2 15 23 BH 25
[Signature]

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

Enclosures

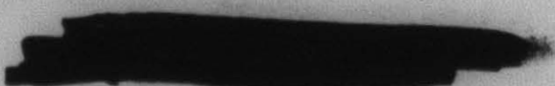
JBT:pld (3)

MAILED 20
SEP 7 1967
COMM-FBI

SEE ENCLOSURES AND NOTE NEXT PAGE.

70 SEP 11 1967

TELETYPE UNIT

 b7c
Enclosures (3)
Turbulence on the Campus
LEB Intro 2-67
LEB Intro 10-66

NOTE: Correspondent is not identifiable in Bufiles. Correspondent does not indicate in his letter where his college is located; however, Bufiles contain references to a Kings College in Briarcliff, New York. There is no derogatory reference concerning this college.

4-528

100-439048-2108
CHANGED TO
100-439048-35-65X

NOV 21 1967

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

FROM : C. D. Brennan *WCB*

SUBJECT: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 8/31/67

1 - Liaison
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
1 - Mr. W. N. Prouse

Tolson	
DeLoach	
Casper	
Callahan	
Conrad	
Felt	
Gale	
Rosen	
Sullivan	
Tavel	
Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Holmes	
Gandy	

D.S. b [signature]
C.D. Brennan

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

OBSERVATIONS:

[REDACTED]

100-439048

WNP:11c *WCB*
(6)

70 SEP 27 1967

REC-43 100-439048-2109
SEP 13 1967

CONTINUED - OVER

5 mp

Memo to Mr. W. C. Sullivan
RE: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
100-439048

61
63
AM CIA

RECOMMENDATION:

[REDACTED] (c)

mp
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WLSL
do
OK
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no
✓
8/71
nm
Dgh

[REDACTED] (c)

PRV
9/1/67

[REDACTED] (c)

NO. 100-372112 IN THIS FILE SKIPPED DURING
SERIALIZATION.

King
E.

10-16-67



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

REGISTERED

Date: September 25, 1967
To: Director, FBI (100-439048)
From: Legat, Ottawa (100-1575)(P)
Subject: COMINFIL
STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
[REDACTED] b1

ReBulet 8-3-67.

It would be appreciated if the Ottawa Office could be furnished with the results of Kansas City inquiry into this matter.

O-7, Ottawa, 10/15/67
direct mailing [unclear]

3 - Bureau
1 cc- Kansas City
1 - OTT
MLI:jhc
(4)

cc [unclear] 10/15/67

CC 932)

REC-32

100-439048-2113

SEP 28 1967

INT [unclear]

3500T

BOARD OF TRUSTEES
EVERETT V. ADAMS
C. O. BARKER, JR.
ROBERT A. COX
RUTH E. PETERS
WILLIAM W. WATSON

MT. SAN JACINTO COLLEGE

MT. SAN JACINTO JUNIOR COLLEGE DISTRICT

P. O. BOX 349
Gilman Hot Springs, California 92340
Telephone 634-7321

WLO P. JOHNSON
PRESIDENT AND CHAIRMAN
ALBERT J. GRAPNEY
VICE PRESIDENT
MA DRES E. NIGHT
DEAN STUDENT ORGANIZATION
DALE G. WALTON
DIRECTOR OF COLLEGE A. C.
CLARA A. BOWLES
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

September 22, 1967

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Gentlemen:

Please send me a report on "Students for a Democratic Society." The report concerning this organization will be helpful to me in my position as chief administrator of this public junior college.

Very truly yours,

MT. SAN JACINTO COLLEGE

MPJ:cb

REC-32

100-4139048c

OCT 5 1967

CORRESPONDENCE

REC- 32

100-437048-2114

CO. 88

bk

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MAILED 18

OCT 3 1967

COMM - FBI

8.1.1.195. 135

[Handwritten signature]

a

☐ ✓ W. L. L. 4727

See NOTE and enclosures on Page tw

Mr. [REDACTED] b7c

Enclosures
Turbulences on the Campus
LEB Intro 2-67

NOTE: Bufiles contain no record of correspondent. A search has been made of various reference guides in the Bureau Library, and it has not been possible to determine [REDACTED] agrees. b7c

MAILED
JUN 10 1967
FBI
JUN 10 1967
FBI

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : The Director

DATE: 9-29-67

FROM : H. P. Callahan

SUBJECT: The Congressional Record

(P) 112531. Congressman Pool, (D) Texas, spoke concerning information that is being established by the Students for Democratic Society to advise young men how to avoid the draft. He advised that such a center has been established in Dallas and on the Southern Methodist campus. Mr. Pool stated that competent sources tell me the people who are mixed up in this conspiracy to trip our country are the same ones who have long been recognized as leaders in the Black Nationalist movement, the W. E. B. Dubois Clubs, the Progressive Labor Movement, and a variety of communist front organizations. The elimination of the Students for Democratic Society efforts to undermine our draft laws will be focused during the week of October 10. At the end of this week planned demonstrations, on October 21, they hope to shut down the Pentagon. Mr. Pool advised that he has requested the House Committee on Un-American Activities to conduct an investigation of this matter.

Original filed in: 100-437048-129

100-437048-
NOT RECORDED
129 OCT 10 1967

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for 9-28-67 was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in the appropriate file or subject matter file.

54 OCT 11 1967

4-528

100-439048-2115
CHANGED TO
100-439048-21-50

NOV 21 1967

RECEIVED

FBI

Date: 9/27/67

Secret

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via _____

AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439048)
 FROM: LEGAT, OTTAWA (100-1500) (P)
 SUBJECT: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
 OO: NY

Remy routing slip 7/18/67. (U)

3 ENCLOSURE

20 5 - Bureau (1 Liaison Direct) (Encs. 3)
 (1 New York)

1 - Ottawa
 MLI:md
 (6)

RM

REC 23

100-439048-2116

10 OCT 2 1967

EX-106

Class retained by 1482

per [unclear] 5 and [unclear]
 [unclear]

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

Legat, Ottawa (100-1500)

Seg 1

10/10/67

REC 23

EX-108 Director, FBI (100-439048) 2116

1 - Mr.
1 - Mr.
1 - Mr.

**COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF
STUDENTS FOR DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY**

Reurairtel dated 9/27/67 with its enclosure dated 9/22/67.

Greg Calvert is Gregory Alan Calvert. He is believed to be currently working full time on behalf of the Students for Democratic Society (SDS) out of the SDS New York Regional Office in New York City. From September, 1966, to June, 1967, Calvert was National Secretary of SDS and at the SDS National Convention held in late June, 1967, while not being elected as one of the SDS national officers, was elected to an at-large position on the National Interim Committee of the organization. Calvert was born April 16, 1937, at Longview, Washington.

D. Jacobson may possibly be identical with Lloyd Dee Jacobson. As of November, 1966, this individual was an intern, Department of Psychology, Northwestern University, Medical School, Chicago, Illinois. He was born December 12, 1939, at Logan, Utah. In 1966 Jacobson was an at-large member of the Du Bois Clubs of America in Utah. Prior to the 1967 SDS National Convention, Dee Jacobson was reported as Assistant National Secretary of SDS; however, since this convention, which was held from June 25-30, 1967, no information has been received concerning any current SDS leadership on his part.

It is possible D. Jacobson may also refer to Carl George Davidson who is currently National Inter-Organization Secretary for SDS and is in constant travel status as an SDS

2 - Chicago (Enclosures - 2)

2 - New York (Enclosures - 2)

1 - Foreign Liaison Unit (Route through for review)

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

WHP:js

(14)

54 OCT 10 1967

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

105-157629-
COPY FILED IN

Letter to Legat, Ottawa
RE: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF
STUDENTS FOR DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
100-439048

employee. Davidson prior to June, 1967, was SDS Vice-President. He has been most active in promoting the draft resistance program of SDS. Davidson was born July 17, 1943, at Sewickley, Pennsylvania.

It is not known from a review of Bureau files if any of these individuals were in Montreal, Canada, from September 18, 1967, to September 21, 1967, but it is very possible in view of their SDS activities. If you should receive any additional information concerning this advise the Bureau. (U)

Enclosed for the information of the New York and Chicago Offices is a copy of referenced airtel together with a copy of its enclosure. (U)

New York is requested to advise if it has any information concerning the visit to Montreal, Canada, in September, 1967, by Calvert and advise the Bureau in form suitable for dissemination. (U)

Chicago is requested to advise if it has any information concerning travel to Canada during the above mentioned dates on the part of Jacobson or Davidson. Chicago advise the Bureau of any information in form suitable for dissemination. (U)

NOTE:

[REDACTED]

IA TELETYPE
OCT 6 1967
ENCIPHERED

- Mr. Tolson
- Mr. DeLoach
- Mr. Mohr
- Mr. Bishop
- Mr. Casper
- Mr. Callahan
- Mr. Conrad
- Mr. Felt
- Mr. Gale
- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Sullivan
- Mr. Tavel
- Mr. Trotter
- Tele. Room
- Miss Holmes
- Miss Gandy

OTT 03 6:25 PM VMH
URGENT 10-6-67
TO DIRECTOR (100-439048)
FROM LEGAT, OTTAWA (100-1500)

~~SECRET~~ b7C
[REDACTED]

C. J. ...

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY.

General
[REDACTED] OO NY.
b1

[REDACTED]

END PAGE ONE

EX 104

b1 REC-2

cc 10-7
CG, BS, NV
10/11/67
WNP

66 OCT 19 1967 in Kinf
Xero, 2

~~SECRET~~

OC, Tolson
Classified by
10/11/67

100-439048-2118
CHANGED TO
100-439048-46-18

NOV 21 1967

ack. file